

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

Politics of the  
H-bomb

A. J. MUSTE

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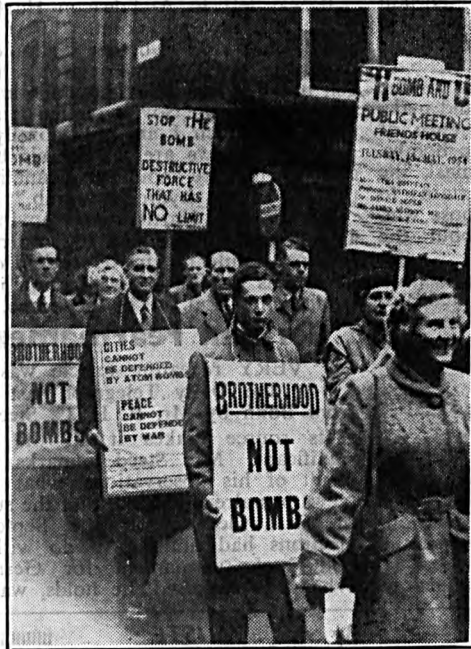
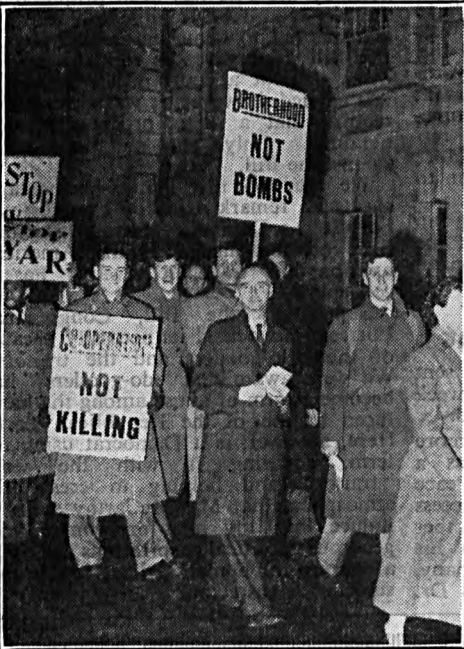
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## 900 IN LONDON PEACE PARADE



## Biggest congregation since 1939 hears Dr. Soper call for action

THESE Peace News pictures show some of the nine hundred people who walked around London's West End last Sunday after a packed service addressed by Dr. Donald Soper, at Kingsway Hall.

In the Hall was the biggest congregation since before the war, approximately seventeen hundred people who came to hear Dr. Soper declare:

"I don't believe that war is inevitable, only God is inevitable. I don't believe that we have to sit around waiting for an Apocalyptic re-entry, nor that we are left without a Gospel for today. Come let us witness in the West End of London to the eternal Gospel writ in the hearts of men from the very beginning, and perfected in Jesus Christ."

Leading the procession was Dr. Soper himself dressed in his minister's cassock, followed by the choir in their gowns. Then came the lines of worshippers, carrying posters and sandwich boards, while others gave out leaflets on the sidewalk.

One of the reasons for the parade was to obtain further signatures to a petition calling on the Government to take action to control mass weapons. The real problem today was that so many people were paralysed with a sense of impotence, said Dr. Soper from his pulpit. They had given up the struggle. But taking part in that procession of Christian witness was something that could be done, which was so much better than complaining that politicians and the churches were doing nothing.

After the parade the marchers gathered in

the street to repeat the Lord's Prayer together. Tribute was paid to one marcher who broke the buckle on her shoe, and continued barefoot.

That demonstration was only a beginning said Dr. Soper. It was an expression of desire and determination for peace and the democratic method that would be used to secure it.

FOOTNOTE: Many of the posters used in the march are examples from the complete parade set of 18 posters obtainable from the Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1., price 7s. 6d.

### H-bomb demonstrations this week end

IN London this weekend Victor Yates, MP, and Dr. A. D. Belden will speak at a "Conscription and the H-bomb" rally in Trafalgar Square at 3 p.m. on Sunday organised by the No Conscription Council. Farewell to Billy Graham

Peace News sellers are wanted at the main entrance to Wembley Stadium (Billy Graham farewell meeting) at 4.45 p.m. on Saturday.

H-bomb march in Ilford  
Seven thousand leaflets have been distributed from door-to-door in ILFORD announcing the Non-violent Resistance Group's one-day campaign in the Borough—advertised on the back page.

Poster paraders are wanted tomorrow (Saturday) at 2 p.m. at Ilford Friends' Meeting House (corner of Albert and Cleveland Roads close to Ilford station). Ilford is 15 minutes by electric train from Liverpool St. (ER) station.

## Donald Soper to the Government— "MAKE PEACE OR GET OUT"

Peace News Reporters

"GET out into the streets!" urged Dr. Donald Soper, addressing a pacifist rally which filled Friends House, London, on May 18, "we cannot wait for people to come to meetings."

It was no use relying on leaflets and meetings to change public opinion; the most powerful propaganda was where it could be seen by people outside. Placards were more important than leaflets; we must become human placards and, if need be, "look a fool for peace's sake."

The rally was organised by the Standing Joint Pacifist Committee uniting all the British pacifist bodies in a campaign to "ban the bomb and outlaw war."

The H-bomb did not add to the wickedness of war, said Dr. Soper, who was given a great ovation when he rose to speak, "and I refuse to be stamped into some new action because of it."

### Things to be done

There were certain simple, practical things that could be done to redress the evil balance and begin to make a new path to a world of peace and decency.

We must communicate our beliefs by talking to people about the iniquity of war. We must send letters to MPs. We must say to the Government: "We put you in office to find a way to make peace: now do that job or get out of it."

Never were there greater opportunities: here and now in this world as we find it the ordinary people are ready to make a new surge forward. The world is on the move: how vitally important it is that we should direct that movement into the ways of peace.

A prime cause of war was hunger, said Dr. Soper. To raise the economic standard of the multitudes in the Near and Far East would mitigate the perils of war and create a new spirit in the world. "It is not enough to say No to the H-bomb. We must say Yes to rice, and bread, and clothes."

Professor Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS, said the nature of war had changed since the first and second world wars. It was now government policy to slaughter millions of people. In future, "war will mean murder and suicide on the part of the nations involved in it."

Civil defence was utterly inadequate and a plain waste of time and money. The money should be spent on the prevention of war and the relief of ignorance, want and disease.

### MP's kept in the dark

Although weapons now being developed were a million times more destructive than any that fell in the last war, our representatives in Parliament last month voted that they should be kept in the dark as to whether we in Great Britain were actually developing hydrogen bombs or not. This was a vote for autocracy as against democracy.

"There is no doubt that we are developing hydrogen weapons here, and there is nothing scientifically speaking to prevent it."

Some scientists objected to the H-bomb because it was wastefully powerful; they would like to go back to "humane war." But for better or worse, we must go forward. "It is simply not intelligent," said Dr. Lonsdale, "to talk about banning H-bombs alone." If you could ban one kind of weapon, why not all kinds?

The reason was that complete disarmament would mean giving up our power—"not the power of righteousness, but the power of superior strength: the power to bomb African and Malayan villages."

It was argued that if we gave up the H-bomb, we should become a satellite of those who had it. But why should we? If we had something to say people would still listen to us. Moral absolutes had their own appeal.

"It is because we refuse to base our foreign policy on moral absolutes that we land ourselves in such dilemmas. We have not yet learnt that Christianity is practical politics."

If we had the moral strength to take the lead in saying that war was wrong, concluded Dr. Lonsdale, we should also have the power to overcome tyranny without losing either our freedom or our souls.

Vera Brittain, author and a sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union, declared that the threat to our age was not due to the advance of science but to the decline of morality and she outlined the step by step deterioration which had taken place since 1939.

"Obliteration" bombing had followed "pre-

cision" bombing. Combatants and non-combatants, men and women, babies and invalids all became part of the "target."

The dropping of the atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, the greatest crime of the whole war came next.

"If we go on as we are," Vera Brittain continued, "sooner or later someone will find in military advantage or national pride a reason to use the bomb."

"No military authority has yet refrained from burning down the house in order to destroy the mouse in the cupboard."

The only difference between now and the recent past was that instead of facing widespread destruction as a result of his immortal behaviour, man now faced extinction.

"The one thing that could save us was repentance followed by reconciliation; a conscious and deliberate adoption by mankind on a global scale of Christian values."

"You may agree that humanity has tried to follow this teaching for two millennia and has not gone very far. But penalty for failure has never been so terrible as it is today."

She had been asked why she did not say all this to the Americans—and to the Russians. "I have an invitation to America from the American Friends' Service Committee and may go soon," she said. "I would willingly go to Russia, too."

□ On back page

## Increase the areas of sanity

—REGINALD THOMPSON

By OLWEN BATTERSBY

"I THINK the hope of the world lies with those small areas of sanity in the East, and with Nehru in India. We have got to increase these areas of sanity. I like to feel that in Britain we have the real nucleus for such an area in the West and would like to see Britain—with Scandinavia possibly—contributing to saving the world by her example. If we don't I think there will be disaster."

These words were said by Reginald Thompson, former War Correspondent of the Daily Telegraph, and author of Cry Korea, when addressing a crowded meeting on "The Far East" in London last week.

The meeting was the third in a series on the danger spots of the world organised by the National Peace Council.

"Throughout the East there are great waves of revolutionary feeling," he continued, "The West are trying to hold up the tide. Nothing done by Canute was ever so utterly stupid, nor so fraught with disaster. This great upsurge will go on for a long time; we cannot stop it, we have no earthly right to try to stop it."

### Legacy of the A-bomb

The tragedy of the Far East could be traced back to one cause: "Due to the atom bomb the second world war ended catastrophically quickly."

"The Japanese in 1945 were already suing for peace. Russia had just come into the war. The American and British allies were alarmed lest Russia should seize too large a portion of territory: hence the atom bomb."

It enabled us to reach the 39th parallel in Korea, and the 16th parallel in Indo-China first; and these two things caused all the trouble.

"America and Russia faced each other with some animosity across these parallels, and here we have the heart of the tragedy."

Briefly he traced the history of the Korean war; a war which should never have happened; a war which we had won and could have come out of not without prestige in its early stages, a war in which hundreds of thousands of people were burned alive without having any idea what it was all about.

There could be no sight so frightening as that of jelly petrol shrivelling up people as they stand. Was it surprising that Western troops were regarded by the East as "the great barbarians of our time?"



## PEACE NEWS

3 BLACKSTOCK ROAD, LONDON, N.4  
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May 21 1954

### WHERE RESPONSIBILITY LIES

IN a recent issue of the Observer, Mr. J. Bronowski discussed the position of the scientist engaged in research into nuclear physics and the responsibility for the atom and hydrogen bombs. He holds that "the American nation has always had a sense of guilt about Hiroshima and Nagasaki" and that there has been a tendency for this to be vented on the scientist "a scapegoat for a world that fears and conspires its own doom."

Mr. Bronowski's contention is that this is unjust and that the responsibility cannot be thus shelved by the community. The scientist has a right to have and exercise a conscientious objection to the work the community is calling upon him to do, but if he agrees to do what the community asks of him those who make up the community have no right to try to relieve themselves of responsibility by placing it upon the scientist.

The one special responsibility that the scientist has who is engaged in this work is to spread the knowledge of what is going on in the laboratory "to illuminate for all the choice which his work offers them." The necessary informed public opinion can exist only where scientists speak to the voters and voters accept their responsibility, which is to listen, to weigh, and then to make their own choice.

In its essentials we believe the case that Mr. Bronowski states is a sound one, but stultified by the obviously inadequate conclusions he has drawn.

When he argues that the guilt inherent in the misuse of research into nuclear physics must be borne by the community, not the scientist, this does not mean that it can be absorbed and dissipated by the community and thus cease to exist. The guilt is still there.

The sense of guilt that the American nation—and not only the American nation, surely—has about Hiroshima and Nagasaki is something that is real. There is guilt present.

The guilt felt by the American nation must be borne in a particular sense, not by the scientist, but by President Truman at the level of decision and by the airmen concerned at the level of execution. That in this particular sense the airmen, having declared no objection of conscience in the matter, must share responsibility with President Truman was laid down in the principles enunciated at the Nuremberg trial.

The fact that the young airman subsequently found himself a broken man who could not bear to live his life in the world while Ex-President Truman has apparently been able to continue a normal domestic life does not mean that his personal responsibility was greater than that of President Truman. It means only that he was a more sensitive human being with a higher degree of imaginative sympathy; in a word, that he was a better man. That is one of the many tragic aspects of Hiroshima.

Now although Mr. Bronowski's contention that the scientists should be able to express themselves freely on the possible consequences of what they are doing seems to us to be just; and although there is probably much on the subject that they could tell us; we do nevertheless have knowledge of the most essential aspects of what these researches have made possible.

We can know for instance (if we do not set out to protect ourselves from the knowledge) what were the consequences of what was done at Hiroshima and Nagasaki; and we can also know how much greater can be the consequences of the use of hydrogen bombs, or even developed atom bombs, as compared with the primitive productions that were used on Japan.

This knowledge the voters can have. Upon this they can make their own choice if those they have elected to represent them will encourage them to do so rather than take every step to prevent the issue from coming before them.

In the present situation the man who bears the heaviest responsibility is not the scientist but the Member of Parliament. We believe that in most cases he is seeking to shirk responsibility rather than to face it.

On this matter a man is not relieved of his responsibility by the standing orders of his Party. His own moral integrity requires that whenever the occasion arises he shall vote as his conscience and judgment direct. He should ask himself whether he would be willing to discharge a hydrogen bomb on a town full of people.

If he can formulate the conditions under which he would drop the bomb it is his duty to state them clearly. If he is unable to do so he has no moral right to vote for a course that may require other men to drop one. It is his duty to oppose such a course and this cannot mean that he can acquiesce in it by abstention from opposition.

Only if the matter can be forced to an issue in a decisive way can the community be in a position to declare its own responsible decision.

### A hatful of atomic bombs

JUST how precarious is the protection of the hydrogen bomb—with which people like Sir Winston Churchill and leading politicians in both Parties seek to comfort us—can be seen in the proposal the Pentagon was considering in relation to Dien Bien Phu.

According to Joseph and Stewart Alsop, American journalists who have special facilities for knowing what is in the mind of the Pentagon, there was a plan for "dropping hardly more than a hatful of tactical atomic bombs on Dien Bien Phu's Communist besiegers."

The word "tactical" is part of the new militarist cant that has to be set beside the word "conventional." In connection with atomic warfare the word was first used for atomic missiles to be discharged by artillery. It will be observed that in regard to the plan that was being discussed this did not apply; the bombs would have been dropped from the air. It may possibly be that the "nominal" atomic bomb (another piece of militarist cant), of the type that was dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, is now to be treated as tactical.

In any case it was calculated that this plan, which had the support of the American Air Force and Naval Commands, would have destroyed the Viet Minh artillery and "decimated" their ground forces. It would, of course, have killed also some of the French and Vietnamese forces—but one cannot have everything! This plan, it was calculated, would almost surely have "saved" Dien Bien Phu.

### "A storm in Britain"

Of course there is the possibility that the Americans having intervened in this way, the Eastern supporters of the Viet Minh might have intervened in their turn. "Tactical" atomic weapons might have been used by the other side also; and, indeed it is not impossible that the "massive retaliation" so dear to Mr. Dulles might have been used against those who had started atomic warfare in Indo-China.

The plan was not adopted. A number of considerations operated against it, not the least of which was that "a storm in Britain, especially, could easily be foreseen."

This is not the first time we have been within an ace of a new resort to atomic warfare by the USA. We were very near to it when General MacArthur began his retreat from the Yalu.

It will be seen that an important factor that is protecting the world against the danger of destruction is the possibility of "a storm in Britain."

There is a clear lesson in this for the British people. It is that it should make very obvious its moral abhorrence of the use of atomic and hydrogen bombs.

The use of these things, remark the Alsop Brothers, is "still certain to wound the sensibilities of all those who have superstitious feelings about the new weapons."

The most emphatic condemnation that we in this country could make of the lunatic irresponsibility of those in power in the US, would be to renounce for ourselves any intention of developing the hydrogen bomb.

### Russia says "Yes"—quite a number of times

THE consistency with which Russia is today following her post-Stalinist course of knotting up relationships with the rest of the world should not go unnoticed.

Russia now sends representatives to

## BEHIND THE NEWS

the International Labour Organisation. Last month it joined the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), and after staging—as it could hardly avoid doing—its protest against the representation of China by an agent of Chiang Kai-shek, settled down to participation in the work of that body.

We now learn that Russia has deposited ratifications of four 1949 Red Cross Conventions for the protection of war victims. These conventions seek the improvement of conditions for sick and wounded in war, the protection of civil populations in wartime, and deal with the treatment of war prisoners and combatants in war who have been shipwrecked.

According to Dr. Adenauer it is likely that Russia will recognise the German Federal Republic and seek to establish diplomatic relations. This, however, may not be welcomed by the Western powers as it will raise the question whether the Grotewohl regime is East Germany is to be recognised by the West.

### Moral confusion

A RESOLUTION was passed last week by the Convocation of Canterbury, highest council of the Church of England, which is unlikely to put an end to the H-bomb but comes dangerously near to destroying the integrity of the Church.

The resolution "regards the existence of the Hydrogen Bomb as a grievous enlargement of the evil inherent in all war..." and it "declares to the nations that they can only be delivered from the evils of war by a general submission to the laws of God."

In his address the Archbishop of York said that if one nation refused to make the bomb, that would not remove the danger of war. We are thus asked to accept that "submission to the laws of God" demands that we should make the bomb. This implies once again, though this time in an unimaginably greater sense, that Divine law can only be expressed through the manoeuvres of might and power.

It was left to Archdeacon Hartill to make the obvious point. "If I were asked," he said, "whether I should live under the Soviet regime or drop a hydrogen bomb, I am clear about the answer. Living under the Soviet regime is something for which I am not morally responsible, but we are responsible before God whether we should give sanction to the use of the hydrogen bomb."

Archdeacon Hartill was moving an amendment to state that the use of the H-bomb would be sin. He called on all Christians to refuse co-operation in the manufacture and use of the bomb.

### German rearmament

A VERY revealing article was sent to the Daily Telegraph last week from Bonn by Mr. R. H. C. Steed.

Its source makes it all the more significant. Mr. Steed remarks as a result of his observations, what Peace News has already stated, that the success of Dr. Adenauer at the September elections had nothing to do with his policy of rearmament for Germany. What was endorsed, he holds, was Dr.

Adenauer's "successful economic policy and his co-operation with the Western Powers."

On the other hand the 30 per cent. of the electorate who voted for Mr. Ollenhauer's Party were largely influenced by their opposition to rearmament except, as Mr. Steed remarks "under some ideal conditions that the Party leadership has never defined."

The question of rearmament produces very little reaction from the man in the street who is completely apathetic and quiescent about it. "There is no national clamour in Germany for any form of rearmament." On the other hand—although Mr. Steed does not refer to this—we have plenty of evidence that there would be a good deal of clamour in the other direction if it were permitted to come through.

### Unleashing militarism

Protests from youth against the possibility of a renewal of German conscription, protests against rearmament, and demonstrations of pacifist opinion are played down in the great bulk of the German press, and the expression of such opinion and the holding of such demonstrations are made as difficult as possible by the authorities. In this type of suppression they have had the support of the Occupying Powers.

Whereas the Occupying Powers have co-operated in damping down and discouraging German pacifism they are increasingly taking the brake off the militarist element that was a chief instrument of the Hitler regime.

On the results of this we cannot do better than quote Mr. Steed:

On the other hand there is a hard core of incorrigible militarists, mostly ex-Regular officers and NCOs, in the category of those whose craving for self-assertion is not matched by the qualifications necessary to achieve success in civilian life.

They play a leading and vociferous part in the activities of the ex-soldiers' associations, which are now receiving official encouragement as part of the effort to restore the "defence spirit" of the apathetic masses.

After two wars to destroy German militarism and to vindicate democracy we are artificially reconstructing German militarism by methods that are an affront to democracy.

### Encouraging keyhole listening

A MEASURE to extend the resort to listening-in on telephone conversations by the FBI has been proposed by the US House of Representatives.

It has yet to come before the Senate. The Bill itself gave the right to tap the wires without a court order. Before it was carried, however, it was amended to require that a court order should be obtained. Only ten members voted against the Bill.

We mention this matter particularly because a remark made by Congressman Forrester, a Democrat, throws a startling light on the distance some American opinion has travelled towards Fascist conceptions.

Supporting the Bill, Congressman Forrester advocated its necessity because of the "do-gooders and the traitors." We were aware that "do-gooders" had become a term of abuse among the hard-faced section of the Republican Party. Here, however, is a Democrat using the term, equating it with the word "traitor," and helping to create the atmosphere that Mr. McCarthy seeks to induce that any man or woman with generous political aspirations or with a concern for human welfare is a proper subject for suspicion.

### LETTER FROM THE USA

By A. J. MUSTE

OUT of some recent discussions here between leading pacifists and non-pacifists, it appears that the present position of at least a very considerable number of thoughtful non-pacifist Christians may be stated as follows: A new "moral dimension" or "new dimension of moral perplexity" has been brought into the picture for Christians, if not for all men, by the combination of the H-bomb and "the New Look" policy of the US administration ("massive retaliation" with atomic weapons as a deterrent to Communist bloc aggressions with conventional weapons, etc.).

It is argued that the policy is nevertheless justified, and in the first instance on political or practical grounds. If the Communists fear we might even be the first to use bombs, their aggression may be halted: this means that war is prevented and also the spread of Communism by military means. This secured, we can go on to carry out the more basic politico-economic and spiritual measures to defeat Communism.

#### Shaky ground

It seems to me that this is shaky ground on which to build US policy and the hope that Christians can avoid facing the choice between total war and possible Communist domination.

1. If a static approach is taken, there may be ground for the quite commonly held view that the A-bomb in US hands deterred Russia from taking over Europe in recent years. There are, nevertheless, a good many informed persons in Western Europe who think other considerations were decisive in restraining a Russian advance after the Czech coup. Moreover if we take a non-static view, we cannot but see that the A-bomb in US hands was also an irritant and

provocative. The Kremlin "had to have" its atomic arsenal. There is thus an atomic armaments race. An armaments race is not in any basic or permanent sense a deterrent but the opposite. Once a Rome-Carthage pattern develops, war in the light of all the evidence results.

2. Some contend that in this case both parties realise that H-bomb warfare means "total destruction" for both and they will therefore "inevitably come to their senses and straighten things out around the council table." Is this a remotely reasonable hope?

a. The fear engendered by the awful nature of the modern weapons stimulates suspicion, bitterness, recrimination, hysteria. It may well build up tension to a breaking point. It is hard to see how it can induce sanity.

b. There are already many in this country—even as Elmer Davis—who say, "Better no world than a Communist." Many feel that it is "better to go down fighting and take Russia down to ruin with us than that our children should live under Bolshevism." A leading nuclear scientist told me some years ago he despaired of a reasonable outcome "since Americans would rather be dead lions than live mice." Does anyone contend that there is no sentiment in the Kremlin that "no world" would be better than one in the control of "the warmongers and imperialists?"

c. The drive to develop a super-weapon or a strategy of surprise or in some other form which will give "our side" the edge, is and is bound to be the preoccupation

of each side. If, as Professor J. C. Bennett recently suggested, "no government... can take the responsibility of deliberately lagging behind in the atomic race," it "has to" take the responsibility of keeping or getting ahead.

3. If we look at post-World War II developments from a global standpoint, where in view of the Communist revolution in China, of Korea, Indo-China, etc.—especially when account is taken of the ghastly losses Russia experienced in the war,

### Politics of the H-bomb

the suffering of China in war and revolution, and the relative backwardness of Russian economy, etc.—where is the evidence that Communist advance has been "deterred?" By almost any standard the advance has been steady and rapid, and the present outlook is highly favourable for the Communist bloc.

4. So far as the present and immediate future are concerned, it seems clear that neither the H-bomb nor A-bombs can be used in Asia and there is grave doubt whether even tactical atomic weapons can be employed.

a. It is virtually inconceivable that the British Government and people would support or even condone such resort, save perhaps in the ultimate emergency of total war—i.e., when "deterrence" had finally failed. Thus we in the USA would be isolated.

b. Psychologically—on top of Hiroshima, the recent Bikini tests, etc.—we would lose the last bit of friendship and respect among Asian and African peoples who still, most of them, probably believe

we would never use atomic bombs except on coloured people.

c. In the eyes of Asian peoples, resort to atomic weapons can only mean the US will have military dominance in Asia. This is one thing they will not tolerate from any Western nation.

#### No deterrent

5. Under the circumstances, the H-bomb cannot deter Communist advance in Asia—or Africa for that matter. The present Communist policy of incessant pressure, attempts at break-through as in Korea and Indo-China, and, where opportunity offers, utilisation of Asian manpower, infiltration, etc. can bear steady fruit. Furthermore, it will inevitably appear justified—the means of "liberation"—to Asians since it can point to the US as warlike, reactionary and inhuman:

a. As already noted, by making Japan a US base, intervention with a billion dollars' worth of military aid in Indo-China, etc., the US is regarded as military interloper in Asia, the "new imperialism."

b. Since as long as we play this role and US capitalism seeks to establish itself in Asia, the popular revolutions cannot trust us and accept our help, nor we trust them. We appear as reactionary, and Communism, by default, can assume leadership of the revolutions, one after another.

c. Since Communist bloc countries can obviously rely on manpower, infiltration, etc. and we have to use "massive retaliation" as "deterrent," we are the H-bomb brandishers and the Russians and "peoples' democracies" are—"obviously"—the "peace" forces.

The H-bomb weakens the US position in Asia.



## What Americans can do about Indo-China

The US monthly Peace Action suggests the following steps for American peace workers to take on Indo-China.

WRITE or wire President Eisenhower, your Senators and Congressman along the following lines:

1. Don't send any American boys to Indo-China.
2. Don't undo the gain of the Armistice in Korea by recommitting the same troops farther south along the coast of Asia.
3. Support an immediate cease-fire as suggested by Premier Nehru.
4. Get General Assembly action by the UN to appoint a UN Good Officers Commission to arrange for the ending of hostilities, and the supervision of elections.
5. Urge the President to negotiate on the seating and recognition of Red China. Unconditional surrender was a mistake in World War II. A similar rigidity of mind now might cause us to stumble into World War III.

Talk with your minister, local editor, and club leader.

If you can get the funds, put an ad in your local paper. You can use material from Peace Action if you wish.

Everyone's interested in what others think. Try to get your Congressman or newspaper to poll people in your home district. Sample question: "Do you want another Korea?"

### Special H-bomb issue of U.S. magazine

The July 1954 issue of Fellowship, monthly magazine of the American Fellowship of Reconciliation, will be a special double-size number devoted to articles on the hydrogen bomb and its implications.

Well illustrated and brightly written, Fellowship is available from Fellowship Publications Ltd., 21 Audubon Avenue, New York 32, N.Y. price 25 cents per copy.

### Sybil Morrison in Glasgow

AN organised attempt, apparently traditional, in the Glasgow University Union, to shout down Sybil Morrison at a lunch time meeting on Friday, April 30, ended in a victory for the speaker, who withstood all efforts to annoy her, and unflinched by the uproar insisted upon making her speech.

In the end she gained a hearing for all her answers to many serious and worthwhile questions. Prolonged applause at the end of the meeting indicated the appreciation of the young students, who had come to mock, but stayed to argue.

The May-day rally in Queen's Park, Glasgow, was washed out by rain and sleet. The Peace Pledge Union lorry, however, attracted a small crowd, and Sybil Morrison held a rain-soaked audience of about a hundred dauntless people who had come to see the processions, for a short session.

The evening meeting at which she was to have spoken also had to be cancelled on account of the weather, but the Group met at the home of one of the members and a lively discussion made up for some of the disappointments of the week-end.

# CRISIS IN BUGANDA!

## A people roused to action

By IGNATIUS K. MUSAZI

Mr. Musazi is President of the Uganda National Congress and the Federation of Uganda African Farmers. He came to Britain recently to appeal for the restoration of the Kabaka, Mutesa II, who was deposed by the British Colonial Secretary from his position as monarch of the East African Kingdom of Buganda.

At a press conference Mr. Musazi said the people of Buganda were determined to carry out a policy of non-violent non-co-operation with the British authorities in their country until such time as their ruler is restored. That campaign has begun with the acts of boycott mentioned by Mr. Musazi in this statement.

MY nation was founded by our first Kabaka Kintu. Ever since that time for nearly 40 generations there has never occurred an interregnum and the present Kabaka is directly descended from Kintu.

We are a society which, for good or ill, is built around and upon the institution of monarchy—the Kabaka.

It is altogether outside our realm of thought to imagine Buganda without the Kabaka.

Our loyalty to him—which means loyalty to his person—is natural and is taken for granted. Therefore it is woven into every fabric of our social framework—our culture, our economy, our religion, our politics in short our everything.

I don't think the British people can realise the rude shock, the anger, the stupefaction, and the indignation caused by the British Government's act of kidnapping and exiling the Kabaka. It is a wound which shall ever remain unhealed, a chronic sore.

It was particularly unfortunate in its timing, coming as it did, when the spirit of nationalism was pervading the country, when the most uncharitable interpretation would be placed upon any move undertaken to preserve the foreign rule in Uganda, from which we are determined to liberate ourselves.

I do not intend to examine the legality or illegality, the righteousness or iniquity, involved in this matter: I think both sides have put their cases before the judgement of civilised humanity. My concern, or rather the purpose of my visit to Britain, is to impress upon the British people the full implication of the crisis now facing Uganda.

There is peace and calm in the country, and I am thankful that this is so; indeed,

the Uganda National Congress has repeatedly appealed to the people to stay peaceful.

But I know my people, and we would be deluding ourselves if we imagined that calmness would endure indefinitely. It will not. It will not, because the whole foundation of the British rule in Uganda, namely, British justice, stands at stake; the confidence of the people has oozed, and national pride has been pricked to the quick.

It will not stand because my people have given the Government ample time and opportunity to behave decently to retrieve the false step and restore trust. Disappointed in the hope of getting justice through the means of peace and honest give-and-take discussions, my people will be obliged to find justice by positive action.

Indeed, the Executive of the Uganda National Congress has already called upon

the Ugandians to refrain from buying any commodity other than food and medicine, and to use only the bare necessities of life.

In adopting this attitude the Ugandians will challenge the Deportation Ordinance of 1902 which is the hammer used by the Governor to strike on the head of Ugandians (irrespective of rank) who criticise the Government. The Executive further reminded the Ugandians that;

### Threat of deportation

"Great Britain is indebted to us: she enlisted our fathers, brothers and sons to fight in the World War II to fight Hitler and his doctrine which aimed at depriving other people of their freedom, yet the yoke of this Deportation Ordinance still hangs round our necks. In England this kind of legislation does not exist; it was repealed in British West Africa. Why does it exist in this country? The affliction is like a creeping plant which chooses its own direction—no other person than ourselves will fight for our freedom."

I welcome the attitude of Bishop Stuart of Uganda, Canon John Collins of St. Paul's and other leaders of the Church of England on the issue of the exile of the Kabaka, but I would advise certain dignitaries of the Church to be cautious as to what they say about the present Uganda crisis—a crisis which could not have arisen but for the part played by the representatives of the Church in drawing up the 1900 Uganda Agreement and persuading the illiterate Buganda Chiefs to accept the genuineness of the document.

I want to add that, although we Ugandians now want to be free and to exercise the right of determining our own destiny, we nevertheless would very much prefer to do so through and with the co-operation of Great Britain. My country has benefitted to a certain extent through its connection with Britain, and this connection was forged on the bar of friendship and mutual respect. We have been tutored by you.

It would be tragic, indeed, if all this fund of good will were to be thrown away through an act of political and religious shortsightedness.

### Political shortsightedness

I would have liked to see the seed of our friendship develop and flower into a mighty tree as our relationship thrived from those of pupil and tutor, to those of two adults.

I think we have probably a few months—not more—to save the situation.

I am not suggesting that you can do anything that can ever remove the blot caused by the exile of our Kabaka in the manner that it was done. This will, unfortunately, stay, always. But I do suggest that you can help us to bridge the gap that is widening between us by doing two things:

The first is to restore the Kabaka now.

The second is to summon courage and reconcile yourselves to the idea of transferring to us the responsibility of our own national life—social, economic and political—in the shortest possible time.

### Spreading our news abroad

Peace News Articles by Sybil Morrison and Emrys Hughes were recently reprinted on the front page of an Australian newspaper, The South Australian Farmer. In Great Britain the nonconformist newspaper, the British Weekly, reprinted the two articles by Peace News' Japanese correspondent, Ichiro Takenaka "The Slow Death from Bikini," and "I was poisoned by atomic radiation" together with the pictures from the film "Hiroshima."

## Sir Winston and the H-bomb motion

WHAT steps was he proposing to take to implement the unanimous request of the House of Commons for an initiative in arranging talks between the heads of the three Powers on the H-bomb Mr. Sidney Silverman asked the British Prime Minister last week.

Sir Winston replied that the motion had been accepted on the understanding that the Government was not committed to action at an unsuitable time.

Mr. Silverman: Can the Prime Minister give any reasons for thinking that the present is not a suitable time for making that proposal having regard to all the events which have happened since he first made the proposal 12 months ago?

The Prime Minister: Nothing would be easier than to make the proposal and have it rejected. I have not at all changed my opinion. I remain of exactly the same opinion.

Mr. Silverman: Well, do something about it.

The Prime Minister: Unhappily, my opinion does not rule in every respect.

## TOM WARDLE TO TOUR U.S.A.

TOM WARDLE, of Peace News staff, will visit the US this summer for a lecture tour on behalf of the American Friends Service Committee.

In the three months from June to September he will take part in Institutes of International Affairs arranged by AFSC, and also spend some time at work-camps and other projects. Joseph Murumbi, one-time secretary of the proscribed Kenya Africa Union and Claude Bourdet, editor of the neutralist French newspaper, L'Observateur, will be among other overseas lecturers attending Friends' Institutes in the US.

Tom Wardle would be pleased to meet Peace News readers during his visit. His itinerary is as follows:

- Kansas Institute, c/o 2023 University, Wichita 12, Kansas. June 3-10
- Texas Institute, c/o 2106 Nueces, Austin 5, Texas. June 11-17
- Pasadena High School, Institute, Pasadena, California. June 19-26
- Whittier Institute, Whittier College, Whittier, Calif. June 28-July 5
- Chicago meetings, c/o 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago 3. July 10-14
- Middle Atlantic Region Institute, Cornell University, Ithaca, N.Y. July 16-24
- Cleveland Intern-Industry Project, c/o PO Box 274, Bexley Station, Columbus 9, Ohio. July 26-28
- Flanner House Work Camp, c/o Overview, Spring Grove, Route 28, Richmond, Indiana. July 28-31
- Logansport Institutional Service Unit, c/o Overview, Spring Grove, Route 28, Richmond, Indiana. July 31-August 1
- Chicago Intern-Industry, c/o 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago 3. August 1-3
- Chicago Intern-Community Service, c/o 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago 3. August 3-4
- St. Charles Institutional Service Unit, c/o 19 South LaSalle St., Chicago 3. August 4-6
- Middle Atlantic Region Family Institute, Westtown School, Westtown, Philadelphia. August 8-15
- New England Institutional Service Unit, c/o 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. August 17-19
- Cambridge High School Institute, Harvard, Mass. August 20-24
- Middle Atlantic Region, High School Institute, Ithaca, N.Y. August 26-29
- Cambridge Family Institute, c/o 130 Brattle St., Cambridge 38, Mass. August 31-September 4



## Third Force

### Lively conference at Oxford



A RESOLUTION calling for the setting up of a Third Force in international affairs was passed by a conference held at Ruskin College, Oxford, on Sunday, May 9.

It had been convened by the Oxford University Labour, Liberal and Asian-African Socialist Clubs, and it was presided over by Mr. Raghavan Iyer, the Indian President of the Oxford Union Society.

The full text of the resolution is:

I. The second half of the twentieth century finds the world in a profound crisis. In the midst of a tremendous opportunity for material abundance, made possible by technological advance, we are living under the shadow of war and economic insecurity, and in danger of social disintegration. Armaments increase, cleavages deepen, wars which cost the lives of hundreds of thousands of men are fought under the guise of police action, and the hydrogen bomb finally brings man face to face with the complete destruction of civilisation and the possible annihilation of life on the planet.

### Solid basis for peace

II. The people of the world have a sense of helplessness which facilitates the present trend towards the regimentation of society and the divorcing of the common man from any control over social policies. This helplessness can be overcome only by some fresh alternative which will lift us out of the cold war framework and provide a solid basis for peace. We therefore declare ourselves for the Third Force.

III. The purposes of the Third Force movement are:—

- (a) to unite men and women everywhere not only on the basis of the essential unity of the human race, but also through the common nature of their basic interests, and their desire to achieve peace and security in their daily lives;
- (b) to vindicate the right of every human being to the exercise of certain fundamental rights and freedoms in which the State has no right of limitation, these being freedom of conscience, association, movement, speech and belief.

IV. In order to implement such a commitment, this conference:—

- (a) recognises that the formation of a third power bloc, in the sense of a political or military alliance standing between the two power blocs, is neither practicable nor desirable;
- (b) considers that the best hope for world peace lies in a positive attempt on the part of Britain, the

countries of the Commonwealth and the democratic countries of Asia, to mediate between the two power blocs;

(c) opposes and rejects both the Capitalist and the Communist social systems;

(d) refuses to give support—"critical" or otherwise—to the war preparations of either side in the cold war or to foreign policies which are a part of such war preparations.

V. This conference stresses the immediate importance of:—

- (a) the negotiation of an Asian peace settlement based on the admission of Communist China to the UN;
- (b) vigorous opposition to any American proposal for involving this country in war in Indo-China or for extending the war, and to a policy of massive retaliatory action;

(c) immediate efforts to seek the banning of the hydrogen bomb as part of a programme of general disarmament, on the basis of effective machinery for international inspection and control;

and calls upon the Government to take further initiative and to declare unequivocally that it will not under any circumstances use the hydrogen bomb, nor permit its manufacture and storage in Britain, nor permit its use from bases in Britain.

VI. Finally, this conference affirms its unequivocal belief in civil liberties, the right of all peoples to independence from foreign control, a war on want, and the extension of political and economic democracy both at home and abroad.

### For and against break with US

There was a heated debate over the wording of the resolution. A deep difference of opinion soon became apparent between those who believed that the Third Force should work within the Western alliance, and those who wished Britain to cut away completely from its present international commitments.

The spokesman for the first of these groups was Mr. Jonathan Boswell, a former chairman of the Oxford University Labour Club.

He said: "It is important that Britain should preserve her present position as a bridge between the Asian bloc and the United States. We cannot think in terms of a break with America. If we are to have any influence we must remain in the alliance."

Another speaker expressed the view of the second and more radical group when he declared: "Any illusion that we may have of going along with the United States will destroy us as a Third Force."

Earlier Professor G. D. H. Cole had

\* next page

## Man to Man

THIS IS the last appeal that I shall write for a few months—from this side of the Atlantic at least.

Within the next fortnight I hope to be well on my way to visiting friends known and unknown in the United States.

The development of international personal contacts in our movement has been, and is being, perhaps its most solid achievement in the post-war years. In the past 12 months Stuart Morris, Victor Yates, Hugh Faulkner and Bernard Carter, all good friends of Peace News, have visited America.

Bill Sutherland, Jim Bristol, Russell Johnson have been to see us in Europe. This week we have welcomed George Houser, Tony Bishop, of the Australian movement, is working with the War Resisters' International in London; the Trocens of the French Fellowship of Reconciliation have spent much time in the USA—and so on. At the WRI conference in Paris later this year there will be a further cementing of friendships.

This person-to-person relationship is at the core of right understanding and effective international peace witness. Let's have more of it.

We like to feel that PN helps to keep those contacts fresh and live.

Do I have to say anything about money this week?

TOM WARDLE.

Contributions since May 7: £158 1s. 9d.\* Total since January 1: £652 0s. 7d. \*Including £140 from US film show and 4s. from "Anon." Cambridge.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd. and address them to Vera Brittain, Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.A.



## Dr. Alex Wood's last book

Thomas Young, Natural Philosopher, 1773-1892, by the late Alex Wood, completed by Frank Oldham, with a memoir of Alex Wood by C. E. Raven, pp. XX and 355. 1 plate. Cambridge 1954. 30s.

TO review this book is a peculiar pleasure, for it enables me to pay tribute to three great men.

The first is Alex Wood. He was the best integrated man I ever knew. Charles Raven, in a warm and characteristic foreword, tells how John Oman said to him one day: "When I speak of a Christian, I mean a man for whom to see is to act . . . I've known three such men . . . only one of them is still alive, Alex Wood." Alex Wood has now gone to join the other two, but he has left the mark of his influence on very many in Cambridge, whether in town or university, and many outside.

Those of us who grew up into the peace movement just before the last war remember how if we wanted to be challenged in the spiritual basis of our thinking and living we went to Charles Raven; if we wanted to be challenged in the way we were working out that spiritual basis in the life of society we went to Alex Wood. We found sane words but not easy words; yet they convinced us because we knew that he was living out his own faith.

Many such will want to possess this book, partly for Charles Raven's discriminating tribute, partly because the book itself shows Alex Wood's keen analytical mind, his precise scholarship, that skill as a teacher which conveys (but not so as to spare the reader all effort) scientific concepts to the uninitiated, that honesty of judgment which speaks the truth in love and criticises where criticism is due, that wide-ranging and understanding humanity.

The book represents something close to Alex Wood's heart. He lived with it for forty years, and was engaged in its completion at his death.

★

The second is the subject of the biography, Thomas Young himself.

He was born of a Quaker family, and though he freed himself from the stringencies of the sect sufficiently to engage in dancing and flute-playing and become a member of the University of Cambridge, he retained a sense of his allegiance throughout his life.

Young was a doctor by profession, but his fame is as one of the most remarkable all-round scholars of history. The tribute to him by Hudson Gurney (the Quaker banker) in Westminster Abbey expresses well his attainments—

"a man alike eminent in almost every department of human learning, patient of unintermitted labour, endowed with the faculty of intuitive perception, who, bringing an equal mastery to the most abstruse investigations of letters and science, first established the undulatory theory of light, and first penetrated the obscurity which had veiled for ages the hieroglyphics of Egypt." Himself a physicist, Alex Wood naturally focusses the spotlight on Young as a scientist, but he does full justice to his many-sidedness.

★

Lastly, I cannot read this book without thinking of my own father, Allan Ferguson.

He too was a physicist of distinction who, like Young, got good results with simple apparatus and without approaching Young's intuitive originality had the same width of outlook and scholarship in many fields, who also like Alex Wood was an outstanding teacher and had a deep and active concern for social problems and the peace of the world. Curiously, at his death he was engaged in writing an article upon Thomas Young which he left unfinished.

I cannot help feeling how much he would have enjoyed this book. And that is sufficient to commend it warmly to others.

Needless to say, the Cambridge University Press have produced the book impeccably.

JOHN FERGUSON.



Young trainees at the Anshan iron and steel works



The teacher of a winter school distributes books to her students

## What I saw and felt in China

I HAD no access to schools, or even to Young Women's or Young Men's Christian Association places, because nowadays you have to be invited to go to such places. It seemed a funny thing to have to ring up some Government Department before I could go in, and I did not feel I could do it. There was another reason—I was staying in an embassy (the Indian), which, of course, has to consider protocol all the time. But the Chinese Government knew when I was there.

I hoped they would ask me to see a few things. They did not. I am not blaming them at all, and for once I felt it was quite a good thing that I, a Westerner, should be left uninvited by Chinese—so many million times Chinese have been left uninvited by us.

But I do not think they were trying to snub me. If they did, I hope they enjoyed it; because I took it quite as if I deserved it. I think there was some slip-up somewhere.

### WELL FED

It was incredible to be in that huge country with its unwieldy Government and its individualism and to find that not a person looked hungry. Everybody looked well-fed—in the old days they would almost fight for a handful of rice for their children, their hunger was so great. There was not anybody who was not well clothed. No one was in rags and tatters.

The word "coolie" has been abolished. Everybody had self-respect. Everybody is counted equally honourable. Now I do not say they live up to it all the time, but they seem to.

Coolie work of the worst sort is abolished. Nobody may let another man pull him anymore. All the rickshaws are fitted with bicycles. No one was out of work.

Nobody will take a tip. If you press a tip on anybody—it is rather bad manners—but if you do, it is handed back to you with a polite request not to do it again.

### NOTHING IS STOLEN

Nothing is stolen. I had a few million dollars—Chinese dollars are not quite like American dollars—ready for a railway journey. When I was going out for the evening, I thought I had better put them in a drawer or in a suitcase, and my hostess, who has a lot of jewellery happened to come into my room. She said, "Oh don't bother to put it away. Everything is safe. Nobody ever takes anything."

She was by no means Communist or particularly keen about Communists.

They are having a ration of ten pounds of flour to each person per month—that is rather low. They have other grain, but ten pounds of flour. They have had good harvests.

I quickly asked, "Do the bigwigs keep to that ration?"

"Of course they do," was the answer.

Now have they not passed us in Christianity? When you think of our vulgar banquets . . . I have to travel by air and I am appalled at the seven-course dinners, not on all airlines, but on those that are rivalling each other, like the French, British and American airlines—each trying to give a few more cocktails free and a few more drinks throughout the day.

But in China, everybody must take the ration.

Now mind you they will have great banquets when foreigners come, when the World Peace Council meets.

### THE PRICE

Now these wonderful things—but at what a price! There was fear, fear of each other. Everybody must watch and report on his fellow. They will report on him at the weekly meeting that they all go to. If they deviate in word or in action from the accepted line—it is quite a good line, generally—but if they deviate from it and continue to do so, or if they appear to be really doubting if this is the best way, if they are getting their own opinions and holding to them, then it is probably prison.

I saw panic on the face of one man who had forgotten he was talking to an English person. It has not been considered correct to talk English. The officials who know English will always talk in their own language and always have an interpreter. This man had been forgetting this fact, one of their intellectuals, in talking to me.

It was a safe place, because it was an Indian house. I asked after a certain professor—"Do

This article is a digest of an address of Reconciliation, at a public meeting given by Muriel Lester, travelling Secretary of the International Fellowship in Palo Alto, California. It describes something of her experiences during her recent visit to China.

you know Professor So-and-So?" And in a moment that very well-known intellectual, known all over Europe—his face was contorted with fear, and he put his handkerchief over his mouth as a child does and in a strangled voice said, "Sh-h-h he's a reactionary."

It is obvious that fear has to be used to get 600,000,000 people into this new way of living, and there are many, many signs of it.

### BANDIT FOREIGNERS

I looked at some of the children's school books. I could not visit schools, but I got some of the books about Chinese children and some of the books giving essays about Chinese boys and girls. Nearly every one I looked at

was very moral, super-super-moral. The moral is being shown the whole time. You almost get tired of morality. It is pushed down your throat.

And this is what the young boy puts in his essay:

*I used to be careless schoolboy, and I never thought about my country, and I did not do my lessons well, and I did not help my father and mother. Then I got hold of a book. It was a book about a young Chinese girl. And when the bandit foreigners—they always put a bad adjective in front when they are talking about us Westerners, unless we have identified ourselves with them—and when the bandit foreigners got hold of her and tried to make her answer their questions, she refused. She was brave. She thought only of her country. She died. And then her brother, who had been a bad boy like me, when he heard—and again all these words about us (and we deserve them!)—he said he would give the rest of his life to his country, and would join the army as quickly as he could in order to take revenge for her.*

That is the sort of idea that they are being brought up on.

China has remoulded her human material. Side by side with merely turning them into killing machines, they are doing all these other things. I think it is a tragedy when a workman has to tell on his fellow and when children in schools are told, as does happen in China, "If your mother or your father tells you things different from what I tell you"—as a Christian mother and father very likely would in teaching a child to pray—"if they tell you about the Government or about what's right and wrong, different from what I tell you, you must tell me."

And then the mother and father are in for punishment.

## THIRD FORCE

★ From Page Three

submitted the post-war Labour Government's foreign policy to a detailed examination. It was, he said, a radically mistaken policy:

It should have worked against the division of the world into power blocs. It had failed totally to concern itself with the world situation, becoming preoccupied with its own electoral victory, the welfare state and India.

British Socialism, continued Professor Cole, alone had been in the position to rally the forces of Socialism throughout Europe. Germany had been the key country, and the first duty of British Socialists was to help the German Socialists to power.

Instead, the Foreign Office had adopted a ridiculous neutral policy in Germany which had helped the Right-Wing to power there.

UNO was allowed, Professor Cole declared, to become an American-dominated instrument. By confronting both the United States and Stalin with a constructive policy of its own, British Socialism could have prevented the revolutions in Poland and Czechoslovakia.

Professor Cole criticised British policies in Malaya, the Middle East, and South and Central Africa. Only in West Africa and the West Indies had the Labour Government done anything useful.

Outstanding mistakes of Russia had been absence from UN in 1950 and allowing the Communist-inspired peace movement to discredit genuine efforts for peace.

The Third Force should direct its efforts to prevent the American Foreign Secretary from provoking another UNO war.

The Third Force bloc could range from Holland to Yugoslavia, from Australia to India. Clearly bound up with its policy would be a determined resistance to German rearmament, which Professor Cole considered part of an American domination plan.

Among others who addressed the conference were Ben Parkin, MP, Newton Garver, of Lincoln College, Oxford, representing Peacemakers (in the USA); Harold Bing, Chairman of the War Resisters International; Mrs. Freda Ehlers, the National Chairman of the Common Wealth Party; Clovis Maksoud, the Chairman of the Oxford University Asian-African Socialist Group and a member of the Executive of the Socialist Party of Lebanon; Wilfred Wellock; J. Allen Skinner, Editor of Peace News, and Tom Wardle, of Peace News.

### Tagore's philosophy

"A Tagore Testament," translated by Indu Dutt. Meridian Books, 10s. 6d.

WHATEVER may be one's views on the value of Rabindranath Tagore's philosophical teachings, Mrs. Indu Dutt's new translation of some of his writings—not previously available in English—is a valuable addition to our still somewhat limited knowledge of the man.

If much of the reasoning is difficult to follow, the obscurity of thought probably belongs rather to the author than the translator, for Mrs. Dutt's style is straightforward and effective.

And, between passages of doubtful value, there runs a thin thread of gold. "No matter how powerful a man may be, if he is to express himself truly he needs friendship," writes the Hindu poet. "He has to be liked. It is in order to be pleasing that there are infinite preparations in the heart of the whole universe. That is why sounds burst forth into songs; lines develop into exquisite forms. We seldom know what a miracle this is."

Yet somehow we tend to feel guilty at the thought that we want to make people like us, and our failure to realise this basic aspect of human nature ties us up into some strange knots.

G. P. B.

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# Let's raise a few objections

—says ALAN TAYLOR, Daily Herald columnist

Reprinted by courtesy of the Editor of the Daily Herald

WE all hope there will be a settlement in Indo-China. We think it is possible. And we believe that British statesmen, without distinction of Party, will try for it.

But suppose there isn't a settlement? Then, within 12 months, British National Servicemen may well be fighting in Indo-China.

In the last war we used to repeat Cromwell's words and say that the best soldiers are those "who know what they are fighting for, and love what they know." That was true of the men who fought the Germans from Alamein to the Rhine.

Would it be true of all National Servicemen who might have to fight in Indo-China? I don't think so. Many would know what they were fighting for and be quite happy about it. Others would not know what they were fighting for.

But many more would know quite well, or think they did, and would think it wrong. They would fight all the same.

More than half the voters in this country are Labour. More than half the National Servicemen grow up in Socialist homes. Every day I meet youngsters who think a war for Indo-China would be wrong. And yet, quite calmly, they face going to fight in it.

WHY? It would be nice to believe that all the young men were good citizens. And that they are ready to do whatever a democratic Government tells them.

I don't believe that. They've never voted for a Government. They feel helpless.

They say: "What's the good of objecting or resisting? It won't change anything." They give in. They agree. It is not merely the easiest course. It seems to them the only possible course.

I don't blame or criticise them. But I think that we of an older generation should raise a cry of alarm.

In my opinion a nation is in real danger when some of its people and particularly its young men, are not objecting to something or other.

Perhaps it's harder to be an objector to anything nowadays. We are getting to be an old nation. And the old don't like objectors.

WE are even getting to be an old Party. When I speak at Labour meetings, I see only people older than myself—and I am nearly 50. We must bring the young into the Labour movement. Or we shall perish as surely as the Liberal Party perished.

How do we do it? I have no more idea than you. But we must surely try.

The young believe the age of the individual is over. If they believe that, it is because we have given them the example. We found it easier to conform. And they have done the same.

I would say this to the young men of today: Never mind, whether your ideas are going to succeed or not. If you think they are right, stick to them. Governments, parties, empires die. But so long as there is someone to say No, the spirit of man goes on living.

**If only two per cent. of those supposed to do military service would declare themselves war resisters, the Government would be powerless because they could not put such masses into jail—Professor Einstein.**

**The time for a conscientious objection to war service is manifestly before and not after the onset of war—H. G. Wells.**

## AGATHA HARRISON

AGATHA HARRISON died "on duty" in Geneva on May 10. She was there as a member of the Quaker international team which has followed each meeting of the UN Assembly since 1950 and which was in this case concerned with the Asian Conference.

For most people, especially in the peace movement, the name of Agatha Harrison will at once recall India, and rightly so, for from 1931 till the granting of full freedom to India she gave herself without measure to serve the cause of that country and to promote friendship and understanding. She worked as Secretary of the India Conciliation Group under the chairmanship of Carl Heath and many times she undertook arduous visits to India.

Most of the Indian leaders through those years, including Mahatma Gandhi, Mr. Nehru and his family, were her personal friends and the lovely tribute of flowers from "The Prime Minister of India" at the service in Geneva two days after her death, as well as the messages from Ministers in India and Pakistan and from Mr. Eden testify to the response which she had evoked.

Her work for India was certainly her greatest contribution to her day and generation but not her only one. One wonders what seeds

were sown in the mind of the girl who worshipped in the family pew under that great lover of humanity, the Rev. Henry Carter?

She trained as a teacher, but soon abandoned that career for work as an industrial welfare officer and as a sequel there came several years in China with the Young Women's Christian Association investigating conditions of labour of women and children, a study which made its mark on later legislation.

A period in New York followed and in 1929 she went to India with the Royal Commission on Labour, so forging the links which were to bind her for the rest of her life.

She was already committed to work for peace and for freedom and from its inception in 1915 she had been a member of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom and had shared in every phase of the work of the British Section untiringly—a deeply loved and valued member. It is notable that, even while they were so profoundly absorbed in making their own history she was able to interest some of the leading women of India, including Mrs. Pandit, in this work for international understanding.

In the National Peace Council and the Friends' Peace Committee also she made great contribution to the peace movement both by her wide experience and her knowledge of Indian affairs and by her constant reminder

## Letters to the Editor

### The H-bomb

THE political bias of Peace News is now apparent to all. The front page (May 7) is almost entirely given up (heading and all) to the non-pacifist Labour party's British National Campaign against the H-bomb, in spite of the fact that on page five of the same issue Stuart Morris says that this campaign does not demand the banning of the H-bomb, and that delegates from such pacifist bodies as the Friends Peace Committee, the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and the Movement for a Pacifist Church, as well as from the Peace Pledge Union had felt obliged to dissociate themselves from the campaign after having attended one joint meeting at the House of Commons with great hope.

The fact that Peace News is running with the bound of the non-pacifist Labour Party instead of the bare of pacifism may account for its low sales.

WINIFRED GREENFIELD.

36, Orchard Ave., Parkstone.

WHILST the terms of this Petition may not completely satisfy our particular case, and whilst there may be some points upon which we do not altogether agree, there is, nevertheless, much in this H-bomb Campaign to commend.

We are certainly agreed that any recourse to war may lead to the use of the Hydrogen Bomb, and the suggestion that there should be a reduction and control of armaments is at least a step in the right direction. Although we believe it right to renounce war and all military preparations, we should surely feel grateful that so many people are coming nearer our way of thinking, and that is why I feel that we should encourage the Sponsors of the Petition in their work. Dr. Donald Soper, a stalwart pacifist, is its Chairman. It will be a very great pity if we lose this opportunity of rousing public opinion upon the implications of the Hydrogen Bomb, and I sincerely hope that the PPU and the FoR will

re-consider their attitude in this matter and join with all pacifists in supporting this campaign.

Had there been a more united effort to oppose conscription (which like the H-bomb is not exclusively a pacifist issue), a great deal more opposition could have been roused, and I would use this opportunity of urging pacifists generally to adopt a policy of co-operation on National issues such as this.

H. GORDON HARGREAVES.

Lyndale, 39 Lowes Rd., Bury.

AT this crisis the British Council of Churches can think of nothing better than a recommendation for a "process of general disarmament" coupled with a call for prayer.

I say nothing against prayer (though with some it may be merely an escape mechanism) but the general disarmament idea is merely a repetition of the dreary old twaddle which beguiled the years between the two wars. General disarmament, with America in her present mood! Tell that to Mr. Dulles.

If British Labour would wake up, as did Labour in 1919 when a nation-wide dockers' strike was threatened, and the sending of munitions to Poland was thereby stopped, then we might see something.

TOM SULLIVAN.

31 Knockbreda Park, Belfast.

### Man's belief in strength

MISS MORRISON quoted a statement in my book to which I would draw your attention as Editor of Peace News: "We have the massive and irrefutable records of the past to teach us, if we would learn, that war begets war, not peace, and that wherever peace has been sought by extensive military preparations war in the course of time has assuredly followed."

It seems to me that a most valuable book could be made if members of the Peace Pledge Union and readers of Peace News would pool their knowledge of these massive and irrefutable records—so that a documentary work of the first importance could be compiled, showing what promises of peace were actually held out to the people each time some new armaments race had been embarked upon. Anyone who could spare time to go through old newspaper files could find a thousand speeches promising peace through the development of the bombing plane; peace through Dreadnoughts before the World War of 1914; and I am sure peace has been "guaranteed" as the consequence of manufacturing the repeater rifle at the time of the Boer War, or of having heavy artillery when the Crimea was brewing. Classical scholars might unearth promises of "peace through strength" preceding the decline of ancient Greece and the break-up of the Roman Empire.

Could you not invite your readers to submit passages from books, speeches and other records of every kind showing the eternal futility of man's belief in "strength"—in any language, the more universal the better.

DORIS LANGLEY MOORE.

32 Great Cumberland Place, W.1. We invite readers to act on Miss Langley Moore's suggestion. Material with the source clearly indicated, should be addressed to "They promised peace," Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4. Stamped envelopes should accompany all material which readers wish to have returned.

### "Peace through strength" tax

HOW can the individual renounce war and all part in it, while he or she is compelled to provide money through taxation towards the cost of armaments?

If the Government wants money for this purpose it should be by direct taxation—by "War Tax," "Peace through Strength Tax," or "Defence Tax." Then individuals could object in the same way as they now object to bearing arms.

EDWARD GEE.

7 Daisy Rd., S. Woodford, E.18.

## By Barbara Duncan Harris

of the significance of the awakening East, urging that the contribution of the men and women of India should be not only welcomed but sought for—the new and healing approach that the free India, the India of Gandhi, could bring to a world held in tension.

What was the secret of Agatha's peacemaking? The devoted support of her sisters comes into the picture. But perhaps her outstanding gift was her almost uncanny capacity for reaching almost instantaneously the essential core of any personality, however great or however humble, with whom she came in contact. And there was also her diversity of gifts, which those who were privileged to work close to her will recognise as varying aspects of that gracious and vital personality.

For many she was the forceful speaker, always with a clear and comprehensive grasp of her subject and knowledge of her facts; for others she was the firm committee woman, equally ready to give time and attention to small matters of detail—with the help of a minute scrap of knitting, surely symbolic of Gandhi's spinning wheel?—or to the momentous issues which confront the peace movement; Agatha conducting a mock auction at a social event; Agatha helping in Bengal at the time of riots and the outbreak of smallpox and cholera; Agatha and flowers.

For every aspect of her work for the creation of peace, thanks be.

## CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

TERMS: Cash with order, 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for odd pence. Maximum length 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., N.4.

LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.

DEAN OF CANTERBURY, Lt.-Col. Read-Collins, Leyton Town Hall, Stop Wars in Asia. Monday, May 31, 7.30 p.m. Tickets 6d. Britain-China Friendship Assoc. (N.E. London Branch), 228 Gray's Inn Rd., W.C.1.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

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REV. MICHAEL SCOTT on "Africa and World Peace." Public mtg., Monday, May 24, at 5.45 p.m. Friends Ho., Easton Rd., N.W.1. Admission Free.

TRAFALGAR SQ., May 23. (See displayed advertisement, back page). Stewards urgently needed. Please write or phone No. Conscriptio Council. TEL 3910, (10.30-12.30.)

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BIRTHS

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PERSONAL

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INTRODUCTIONS. Friendship or marriage; home and overseas. V.C.C., 34 Honeywell, London, S.W.11.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a man aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employment, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952.

IF YOU WANT TO HELP PEACE you can't do better than give a hand at Peace News. Volunteers welcome for daytime work and every Wednesday evening. Write, call or phone STA 2262. Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4 (above stationers, Fish & Cook). Nearest Tube Finsbury Pk.

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## DIARY

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, May 21

DURHAM: 8.15 p.m.; Lounge of the Union Society, Palace Green. Reg. Sorensen, MP. "Foundations of Peace." Durham College For.

Saturday, May 22

ILFORD: 2-9.30 p.m.; Objective Peace Campaign. Poster parade, Open-air mtg., Peace Exhibition, Buffet and Brains Trust in Friends Ho., from 4 p.m. (corner of Albert and Cleveland Rds.). Non-violent Resistance Group, Pacifist Youth Action Group and Ilford PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m.; Friends Int. Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. "Religion and the Child." Mrs. Lyn Harris. Tea 4 p.m. (6d.). Education Commission PPU. Please notify Jone Burgess, 9 West St., Hertford.

Sunday, May 23

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 8 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Tuesday, May 25

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. John Barclay. "Max Plowman as I knew him." PPU.

RICHMOND: 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., E. Sheen. Harry Mister, "Peace News." PPU.

Wednesday, May 26

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For. PPU.

Thursday, May 27

HAMPSTEAD: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Ho., 120 Heath St. John Barclay, "My Visit to Yugoslavia," with Film. PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Group Discussion. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m.; Lincoln's Inn Fields. Open-air mtg. Sybil Morrison. PPU.

Friday, May 28

AYLESBURY: 7.30 p.m.; Hazells Hall, Britannia St. Public Mtg. "Aylesbury and the H-bomb." United Mtg. (Non-sectarian, non-political). Supported by local churches.

LONDON, N.10: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Muswell Hill. Fenner Brockway, MP, and James Avery Joyce. LFF.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Work Mtg., Central London Gp. PPU.

Saturday, May 29

PLYMOUTH: 6 p.m.; Swarthmore Friends Mtg. Ho. Area Conf. Edith Adlam, "Indo-China." For.

Saturday-Sunday, May 29-30

WATFORD: 3.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Church Rd. Young People's Weekend Con-

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## 'Liberation through annihilation'

### LORD ALEXANDER'S THEORIES OF DEFENCE

RECENTLY Field Marshal Lord Alexander, our Minister of Defence, visited Copenhagen for the purpose of persuading the Danish Government to allow two new air bases to be established in Denmark.

It was a private meeting but a few weeks afterwards a report appeared in The Scotsman from its correspondent in Copenhagen stating that Lord Alexander had been explaining to the Danes what he thought was likely to happen in the event of another war.

Following this I put a question to the Prime Minister on the matter. Here is the Hansard report of question and answer.

Mr. Emrys Hughes asked the Prime Minister if the recent statement made by Field Marshal Alexander at Copenhagen regarding the conduct of operations in a possible future war involving Great Britain represents the policy of Her Majesty's Government.

The Prime Minister (Sir Winston Churchill): My noble and gallant Friend made no statement of policy whilst in Copenhagen. In private conversations he referred to what might happen in a possible future war—in a spirit which should command agreement and certainly spread confidence.

Mr. Emrys Hughes: Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that a report of this statement which appeared in the Scotsman said that this country would bear the heaviest atomic attack in the event of war with Russia, that this country would be knocked out, and would be liberated by Canada and the other Dominions? Is that the sort of thing which inspires confidence in the civilian population in this country?

The Prime Minister: My noble Friend was indicating that even if the worst that people imagine were to come to pass, we should not give in.

#### "Poppycock"

Of course, Sir Winston's melodramatic answer brought loud cheers from the Tory benches and the Tory press came out next day with headlines and comments that this was the spirit of Dunkirk and the Churchill who was prepared to die rather than surrender.

Of course, these Churchill worshippers are apt to forget that when Churchill was faced with the personal choice of death or surrender he preferred to surrender and be taken prisoner. This was in South Africa when he preferred to be captured by the Boers than to have his career ended by a bullet.

He chose surrender to death and became a prisoner. He did not fall on his sword, or blow his brains out with a revolver after making a melodramatic declaration that he would never surrender.

He surrendered and so lived on to make no surrender speeches a generation after.

If the Germans had invaded this country after Dunkirk I do not believe that Churchill would have shed his last drop of blood on the beaches. He would have yielded to persuasion and would have continued to exhort the British people to fight on and never surrender—from Quebec or Montreal.

So when he sticks out his jaw, strikes a defiant attitude and declares we shall never give in, the credulous cheer, and the more sceptical murmur "Poppycock."

#### Danes have doubts

So let us try to think of what Lord Alexander said to the Danes in cold blood.

The Danes appear to have had some doubt whether there is likely to be greater security for Denmark if they have new airfields from which presumably atom bombers will be able to fly to bomb the Russians.

To this Lord Alexander appears to have replied that it was Britain that would bear the heaviest atomic attack in the event of war. We know that the Russians have the H-bomb

#### HELD OVER

Reports of many meetings have had to be held over until next week.

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August, 1954

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and in a recent speech in the House of Commons, Mr. Attlee made statements about the destructive power of the bomb which left nobody in doubt as to what would happen to British cities if the bomb were exploded here.

Yet our Defence Minister, who must realise that there would be nothing much left in bombed out Britain or Western Europe contemplates the prospect of the war being continued from Canada or some other part of the British Commonwealth.

Whether he thinks the Russians would occupy a bombed out and knocked out Britain he does not explain.

But if so, would what was left of Britain be bombed by atom bombers from Canada, the USA, or Spain in the same way as the French ports and French territory were bombed during the last war?

Can it be that our military planners are thinking of atom bombing Europe from other bases?

And in that case, what is to happen to the population of France, Belgium, Denmark and Germany during the process of liberation that is presumably directed from some Western GHQ on another continent?

#### A queer slogan

The headquarters of the Red Army and Red Air Force would just as likely be in East Germany as in Moscow or the USSR.

Do we then propose to atom bomb the Germans as a preliminary to liberating them? And what would be left to liberate?

"Liberation through annihilation" is indeed a queer slogan.

Communism may be as awful a fate as the propagandists of the West say it is, but it can't possibly be much worse than what is likely to happen to us under Lord Alexander's strategy for our liberation and defence.

#### Michael Foot on arms race danger

A PUBLIC meeting attended by 220 men and women at Plymouth's Royal Assembly Hall on May 14, passed resolutions opposing German rearmament and calling on the Government to seek a great power ban on the H-bomb.

The meeting was organised by the Plymouth branches of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, and the Plymouth Peace Council.

Mr. Michael Foot, Labour MP for Devonport division of Plymouth, attacked the proposals to rearm Germany as liable to cause a dangerous arms race between the two sides of Germany, backed by the great powers.

He submitted an alternative plan under which Germany would contribute the money which would otherwise have been spent on arms towards a fund for the development of the backward nations of the world.

Britain and the USA could also contribute by cutting their arms programmes.

Mr. Harold Lawrence, prospective Labour candidate for Tavistock Division of South Devon, also spoke on the menace of the H-bomb.

#### Indian leaders' tributes to Agatha Harrison

THE following messages were read by Ranjit Chet Singh, an Indian Quaker at a memorial meeting to Agatha Harrison in London on Monday.

From Dr. Rajendra Prasad, President of India: Have heard with much regret the news of the death of Agatha Harrison whose devoted services during the period of India's struggle for independence will long be gratefully remembered by us.

From Mr. Nehru, Prime Minister of India: Agatha Harrison was a dear friend and colleague. Her quiet unostentatious and devoted work for India's freedom, for friendly relations between UK and India and for peace everywhere bore substantial fruit and endeared her to innumerable friends in India. Her passing away is a personal loss to many of us and a loss to the cause of peace and reconciliation for which she laboured with devotion throughout her life.

From Lady Mountbatten: My heartfelt sympathy to you on your tragic loss which is one we all share. Agatha had all my admiration and true affection.

There was also a message from Miss Harrison's friends at the United Nations to say that there had been a gathering in the Meditation Room of the United Nations Building to remember her work. (See also page five).

#### If you live in East Yorkshire...

Peace News readers able to support an East Yorkshire Pacifist Youth Action Group, are asked to write to Leonard Bird and Fred Deutsch, 290 Beverley Rd., Hull. The Group hope to hold open air meetings and poster parades, and push Peace News sales in an area East of Leeds, South of York and North of the Humber ... or if you live near Derby...

June 19, National Service Registration Day has been chosen by the Derby Peace Pledge Union Group for an intensive campaign against conscription and the H-bomb. All Peace News readers able to support demonstrations on that day are asked to write to Frederick G. Forster, 24 Hartington St., Derby.

#### The Conscript and the H-Bomb

### MASS RALLY

### Trafalgar Square

3 p.m. SUNDAY MAY 23

V. YATES M.P. Dr. A. D. BELDEN and others

Make this London's biggest Peace Rally since 1945!

Organised by: No Conscription Council  
Crestfield Street, W.C.1.

## 'FOR DEFENCE ONLY'

I am not a pacifist but I appreciate a great many of your articles. I would, however, like to point out that Churchill, Attlee and other statesmen have frequently assured us that atom and hydrogen bombs are for defence only and would be used only if we were attacked. We all desire peace, and it is the Communist threat that obliges us to have these means of defence; they plan aggression, Britain does not.

—Letter received May 14, 1954.

The Soviet people's most ardent desire is for peace. The gentlemen from the Imperialist camp should remember that we never promised to refrain from using our might for halting aggressors who might attack us and interfere with our peaceful labour.

—Pravda quotation in Sunday Times, May 16, 1954.

MANY exciting and romantic tales have been told, of gallant sieges and courageous defence against wicked aggressors, for in fairy tales and romances it is only the "villain of the piece" who wantonly and viciously attacks without reason and with no provocation.

Curiously, this conception of battle is something which is so rooted in the minds of the majority of people, that they refuse to grow up, and remain in this respect, as little children, who believe in the fairy tales of brave knights clad in silver mail, who rescue virtuous maidens from wicked knights, whose black armour is symbolic of their cruel characters.

Our "defence" propaganda today has very much the same flavour as these fairy tales and legends of old. The chivalrous knights of peace-loving Britain will never ride except in

defence of virtue; freedom is the ideal for which, clad in their silver armour, they will fight and die.

The black knights, with eagle plumes in their helmets, swastikas or sickles the device upon their shields, are the Prussians, Nazis or Communists who threaten aggression, unprovoked and vile; the defence, of course, is invariably gallant and pure.

It is time that ordinary people awoke from these dreams and fantasies induced by the drug of incessant propaganda. The word "defence" has lost its meaning since the era of the high explosive; in the last world war the men who were "defending" this country were obliged to leave their homes, their children, their wives and mothers and sisters to the onslaught of the "blitz," while they themselves were engaged in fighting in the desert, or blasting to pieces the wives and mothers and sisters of other men in Germany or Japan.



At first we were told that British airmen attacked only military objectives; then, when it became obvious that factories and railway stations were as much military objectives as gun emplacements and barracks, this fiction could no longer be sustained, and "obliteration bombing" was openly stated to be part of British defence of freedom.

Then came the atom bomb, used not by the Nazis, or the Soviet Union, but by the USA with the full concurrence of Great Britain. "The historic fact remains," writes the Prime Minister in the last of his memoirs, "that the decision to use the atomic bomb... was never even an issue. There was unanimous, automatic, unquestioned agreement around our table."

The fact that the intention to use it on Japan was kept secret from the Russians, our Allies at the time, naturally causes the Kremlin to view our protestations of peaceful intention towards them with very grave suspicion.

This should be borne in mind when it is asserted that the terrible weapons which are the outcome of that first A-bomb are for defence only. If Russia had discovered it, and used it as we did, such a statement from them would never for one moment be accepted and believed.

The Russians no doubt believe that the production of these horror-weapons arises from the fact that capitalist countries desire and plan for the overthrow of the Kremlin, and the invasion of their country.

Experiments with appalling weapons which can only be used in attack, and a refusal to negotiate except from a position of strength, give an impression of determination to dictate terms rather than a desire to reach agreement.

While Governments continue to inflame their peoples to believe the worst of each other, this perilous deadlock must remain, and will only be broken when the common people have the courage to let it be known that defence by the slaughter of the human race is unacceptable to the conscience of the nation.

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3 p.m., Open-air Meeting at Roden St., Ilford Lane, Ilford Broadway.

Chairman: Councillor George Caunt.

4 p.m., Peace Exhibition, Bookstall, Buffet.

7 p.m., Any Questions session opened by Tom Wardle. Question Master: Rev. Sidney Russell. Panel includes: "The Brain of Britain"—D. Martin Dakin.

Come and join us when and how you can.

Buses 25, 25a, 26, 86a, 129, 144, 145, 147, 148, 150, 167, 298, 663, 691, 693, 695. Green Line 721 and 722, all to Ilford Broadway. E.R. Trains from Liverpool St. (15 mins.).

Non-violent Resistance Group, Pacifist Youth Action Group, Ilford Peace Pledge Union.

#### THE H-BOMB

Personal Report from Japan

Speakers:

Mrs. CATHERINE WILLIAMSON

Secy., Christian Peace Group

Mr. ALFRED TUCKER

Canterbury Quaker

Both just returned from Japanese Pacifist Conference

Rev. JACK BOGGIS, MA

Chair: Prof. Kathleen Lonsdale, FRS

MAY 24 7.30 p.m.

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Ordinary people all over the world want peace and freedom, they hate and fear the hideous cruelties of modern war. Is there not then some commonsense way in which all the skill and resources wasted for war could instead build a stable and lasting peace?

There is a way, and "Peace News" is the weekly newspaper of those in every country who are working it out. They include Lord Boyd Orr, the Rev. Michael Scott, Vera Brittain, Emrys Hughes, M.P., Ethel Mannin, Reginald Sorensen, M.P., Laurence Housman, Manilal Gandhi, Dame Sybil Thorndike and many others in all parts of the world.

"Peace News" endeavours to give the truth behind the news, the real facts and figures of world expenditure and world needs, reports of constructive work from many countries, peace speeches in Parliament, which other papers neglect. It includes book reviews, cartoons, short stories and verse, an international readers' forum, and much more.

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## Some Opinions of PEACE NEWS

### PROFESSOR KATHLEEN LONSDALE, F.R.S.

*"I buy and read 'Peace News' every week, and feel that the time is well spent. I recommend it warmly."*

### R. W. SORENSEN, M.P.

*"War news needs the corrective of 'Peace News.' We must mobilise all genuine forces of goodwill to overcome the menace of destruction."*

### H. W. FRANKLIN (President of the Nat. Union of Railwaymen)

*"I can wholeheartedly recommend 'Peace News' to my fellow Trade Unionists, for even if one does not accept the full pacifist view-point, readers will always find an objective survey of issues which affect war and peace. The authenticity of its news items is something which all Trade Unionists would appreciate."*

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